# Embedded allocutivity in Basque

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*Abstract.* Recent work has described allocutive marking in finite embedded contexts in Tamil and Magahi where allocutivity interacts with indexical shift. Alok & Baker (2018) propose that allocutive marking reflects agreement with a silent addressee-related DP present in all finite clauses even when no indexical shift applies. A prediction of this approach is the possibility of varieties with embedded allocutive marking, but no indexical shift. This paper argues that some Southern Basque dialects instantiate this possibility. In addition, novel evidence is presented suggesting that the syntax of allocutivity is related to the syntax of direct address expressions in these dialects.

## 1. Introduction

Recent literature has witnessed considerable growth in formal descriptions of allocutivity cross-linguistically. An emerging focus in this literature is how the syntax of allocutive marking relates to the syntax of other syntactic phenomena taken to motivate person features in the C-domain including indexical shift (McFadden, 2020; Sundaresan, 2018; Alok & Baker, 2018; Alok, 2020, 2021) and direct address expressions (Slocum, 2016; Portner et al., 2019; Akkuş & Hill, 2021). This article reports evidence from innovative Southern Basque dialects, which sheds light on two sets of issues in this literature.

A first set of issues we consider concerns the relationship between embedded allocutivity and indexical shift. Much of the recent literature on allocutive marking has modeled it as strictly a root clause phenomenon in view of facts from well-studied allocutive varieties including Japanese, Korean and Standard Basque (Miyagawa, 2013, 2017; Portner et al., 2019). Recent work on Tamil

(McFadden, 2020; Sundaresan, 2018) and Magahi (Alok & Baker, 2018), however, has described allocutive marking in finite embedded contexts as well. In both Tamil and Magahi, moreover, allocutive marking interacts with the interpretation of embedded indexicals, which both Sundaresan (2018) and Alok & Baker (2018) take as evidence that allocutivity is related to the syntax of indexical shift. In particular, Alok & Baker (2018) propose that allocutive marking reflects agreement with a silent "Hearer" DP that may be controlled by a higher argument in indexical shifting, and which is universally present in all finite clauses, even where no indexical shift applies. But, there is an alternative understanding of the Tamil and Magahi facts not considered in the literature, namely that the possibility of embedded allocutivity in a given language is dependent on the presence of indexical shift. That is, a prediction of Alok and Baker's (2018) approach is the possibility of varieties with embedded allocutive marking, but no person indexical shift at all. This paper argues that some southern Basque dialects instantiate this possibility.

A second set of issues we consider concerns the relationship between allocutive marking and the syntax of direct address expressions (Slocum, 2016; Portner et al., 2019; Akkuş & Hill, 2021). In particular, several facts from innovative Southern Basque dialects support a unified syntactic treatment of these two sets of forms. Most strikingly, our consultations suggest that the same speakers that accept allocutive morphemes in embedded domains also accept embedded vocative expressions. We propose a syntax for allocutive clitics and vocative DPs in Basque parallel to that independently motivated for thematic clitics and the DPs that they double.

The discussion is organized as follows. Section 2 of this paper outlines previous work on root clause restrictions on allocutive morphemes and recent work suggesting a connection to indexical shift. Section 3 discusses embedded allocutivity in innovative southern Basque dialects. Section 4 argues for a unified syntactic treatment of allocutivity and vocative expressions in Southern Basque.

## 2.   Embedded allocutivity and indexical shift

Particularly influential in much of the recent formal work on allocutivity is Miyagawa's (2013; 2017) work on phi-agreement in C. Central to Miyagawa's discussion is an analysis of the Japanese politeness morpheme *-mas* as in (1), which Miyagawa takes to be a species of allocutive marking.

(1)     Watasi-wa piza-o     tabe-**mas**-u.
        I-TOP        pizza-ACC eat-**ALLOC**-PRS
        'I will eat pizza.'
        (Miyagawa 2017:19)

   Miyagawa proposes that *-mas* reflects agreement between a phi-probe on C and a silent addressee-marking nominal merged in a left-peripheral speech-act projection SaP (Speas & Tenny, 2003). As a projection encoding properties of the utterance, Miyagawa takes SaP universally to be present only in root contexts, which accounts for the root-clause restrictions observed in Japanese and in most varieties of Basque (Oyharçabal, 1993).

   A similar set of facts is described for Korean by Portner et al. (2019) and Pak (2017). Like Japanese *-mas*, a set of Korean politeness particles appear affixed to the finite verb, and are obligatory in relevant sociolinguistic contexts. Like *-mas*, these morphemes mark the status of the utterance addressee relative to the speaker. Importantly, as illustrated by the contrast between (2) and (3), these markers are strictly precluded in embedded contexts. As reflected in the glosses, these morphemes also mark clause type, a fact to be returned to later.

(2)     Ecey       pi-ka       o-ass-**supnita**.
        yesterday rain-NOM come-PAST-**DEC.FORMAL**
        'It rained yesterday.'
        (Portner et al., 2019)

(3)     *Inho-ka   [ecey      pi-ka      o-ass-**supnita**-ko]                malhayss-**supnita**.
        Inho-NOM [yesterday rain-NOM come-PAST-**DEC.FORMAL**-COMP] said-**DEC.FORMAL**
        'Inho said that it rained yesterday.'
        (Portner et al., 2019)

Portner et al. (2019) propose that these morphemes spell out a head "c" that encodes features of the utterance context including the status of the addressee relative to the speaker. They further take c to encode a kind of performative meaning that is not of an appropriate semantic type for syntactic embedding, and is therefore not merged in non-root contexts.

More recently, work on Tamil by McFadden (2020) and Sundaresan (2018), and on Magahi by Alok & Baker (2018) has described allocutive marking in *bona fide* embedded contexts. In both of these languages, moreover, allocutive marking appears to interact with indexical shift, which Sundaresan (2018) and Alok & Baker (2018) take as evidence that allocutive morphemes are related to the syntax of indexical licensing.

In Tamil, the morpheme *-ŋgæ*, marks singular polite addressees and plural addressees (familiar and polite). It marks both thematic and non-thematic addressees—the latter case illustrated in (4).

(4)    Naan dʒaangiri vaang-in-een-**ŋgæ**.
       I     Jangri    buy-PST-1SG.SBJ-**ALLOC**
       'I bought Jangri.'
       (McFadden, 2020)

Importantly, McFadden (2020) and Sundaresan (2018), report that allocutive *-ŋgæ* can appear in embedded contexts such as (5). When it does, moreover, it interacts with indexical shift in the following way. In a context like (5), in which no speaker/addressee-indexical shift is present, the allocutive morpheme is interpreted as honorifying the addressee of utterance.

(5)    Maya$_i$    [**avæ**$_i$    poo̞ʈʈi-læ    dʒejkka-ppoo-r-**red**aaɭ-**ŋgæ**-nnŭ] Seetha-kiʈʈæ
       Maya.NOM **she.NOM** contest-LOC win-go-PRS-**3FSG-ALLOC**-C    Seetha-LOC
       so-nn-aa.
       say-PST-3FSG.SUBJ
       'Maya$_i$ told Seetha$_j$ that she$_i$ would win the contest.'
       (Plural/polite form to **utterance addressee**)(Sundaresan, 2018)

(6), on the other hand, involves indexical shift with the first person subject of the lower clause coreferential with the matrix subject. In this context, according to McFadden (2020) and Sun-

daresan (2018), the embedded allocutive *-ŋgæ* morpheme must be interpreted as honorifying the addressee of the embedded speech act—a kind of "shift-together" effect (Anand & Nevins, 2004).

(6)  Maya$_i$   [**taan**$_{i,*j}$   pooʈʈi-læ   dʒejkka-ppoo-r-**een**-**ŋgæ**-nnŭ] Seetha-kiʈʈæ
     Maya.NOM **ANAPH.NOM** contest-LOC win-go-PRS-**1SG**-**ALLOC**-C    Seetha-LOC
     so-nn-aa.
     say-PST-3FSG.SUBJ
     'Maya$_i$ told Seetha$_j$ that she$_i$ would win the contest.'
     (Plural/polite form to **embedded addressee**)(Sundaresan, 2018)

Sundaresan takes these facts to reflect a syntactic relationship between indexical shift and allocutivity. Specifically, Sundaresan suggests that allocutive marking reflects agreement with an Addressee element in a SpeechAct projection, following McFadden (2020). In embeddings under verbs of saying, this projection will also host a monstrous operator which governs the interpretation of embedded indexicals.

A similar interaction is described by Alok & Baker (2018) in Magahi, an Indo-Aryan language spoken in northern and eastern India. Verbs in Magahi, unlike kindred Hindi, can have a second agreement slot to the right of the agreement controlled by the subject, which can mark agreement in status with a non-thematic addressee, as in (7).

(7)  Ham jaait   h-i-**o**
     I    go.PROG be-1-**HON.**
     'I am going.'

Alok & Baker (2018) report that Magahi also has first- and second-person indexical shift, as illustrated in (8), where *ham*, 'I', in the lower clause can be interpreted as John or the utterance author.

(8)  John socha h-ai          ki   ham tej    h-i.
     John think  be-3.NH.SUBJ that I      smart be-1.SUBJ
     'John thinks that I (=John, or =speaker) am smart.'
     (Alok & Baker, 2018)

Under 'think'-class verbs, however, when allocutive marking—i.e. agreement with the utterance addressee—appears in a lower clause, indexical shift is impossible, such that a form like *ham* must be interpreted as the utterance author.

(9)   John socha h-au          ki   ham tej    h-i-au.
      John think  be-NH.ALLOC that I     smart be-1.SUBJ-NH.ALLOC
      'John thinks that I (=speaker, ≠John) am smart.' (said to a peer)
      (Alok & Baker, 2018)

Like Miyagawa (2013, 2017) and McFadden (2020), Alok & Baker (2018) propose that allocutive agreement in Magahi reflects agreement with a silent, second person DP merged in the left periphery. Magahi has the further property that this DP may be controlled either by an argument of a higher clause, yielding a shifted interpretation, or by the utterance addressee. Importantly, Alok & Baker (2018) propose that the Addresee operator (and Speaker operator—we set these facts aside) are "always there", i.e. merged in all finite clauses, in all languages including those that lack indexical shift and allocutivity. In the latter class of languages, any agreement triggered by the silent Addressee operator will be silent, and this operator will have the further property that it cannot be controlled by a higher argument, such that shifted interpretations are impossible.

(10)   [$_{\text{CP-root}}$ DP-Hearer ... Argument ... [$_{\text{CP-embedded}}$ DP-Hearer ... ] ]
      (adapted from Alok and Baker (2019))

From the perspective of Alok and Baker's (2018) proposal, an alternative to be excluded is that embedded allocutivity is dependent on person indexical shift, i.e. that embedded allocutivity is restricted to languages that have indexical shift, perhaps for reasons of learnability. In other words, this proposal predicts the possibility of languages with embedded allocutivity, but without any person indexical shift at all. The following sections present evidence that this possibility is instantiated in some innovative Southern Basque dialects.

### 3.    Embedded allocutivity in innovative Southern Basque

Basque shares with most of the languages described in the allocutive literature the property that allocutive morphemes mark agreement with the status/familiarity of the addressee. (See (Portner et al., 2019) for an analysis of this fact.) In the dialects of Basque that maintain allocutive marking—not all do—the allocutive morpheme, when present, marks agreement with a familiar addressee. In southern dialects, which will be the focus of the discussion here, no marking appears with formal addressees.[1] In addition, allocutive morphemes mark agreement with the gender of the addressee. In (11a), for example, the *-a-* and *-na-* morphemes mark agreement with a familiar male and female addressee, respectively. Allomorphs *-k* and *-n* appear when the allocutive morpheme appears adjacent to the right edge of the morphological word.

(11)    a.    Jon ikus-i      d-i-**a/-na**-t
              Jon see-PERF EXPL-ROOT-**2SG.FAM.MASC/FEM**-1SG.ERG
              'I've seen John.'

        b.    Jon etorr-i     d-u-**k/-n**
              Jon come-PERF EXPL-ROOT-**2SG.FAM.MASC/FEM**
              'John has come.'

In addition to allocutive markers, Basque finite verbs contain morphemes that agree in person and number with ergative, dative and absolutive arguments. (Non-finite verb forms never bear these morphemes.) For second person singular familiar dative and ergative forms, these also agree in gender, as in allocutive marking. Like many other allocutive varieties including Tamil (McFadden, 2020), Magahi (Alok & Baker, 2018) and Galician (Uriagereka, 1995), the same linguistic forms that mark non-thematic addressees in Basque are recruited in marking thematic addressees. (12) shows that the surface forms of the 2SG.FAM argumental clitics and the conditions on allomorphy are parallel to those for allocutive morphemes in (11).

(12)    a.    Hi-ri           ema-n       di-**a/na**-t
              2SG.FAM-DAT give-PERF AUX-**2SG.FAM.MASC/FEM**-1SG.ERG

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[1]See Oyharçabal (1993) for a discussion of a northern dialect in which allocutive marking with formal addressees is maintained.

'I have given it to you.'

b.  Hi-k          egi-n     du-**k/-n**.
    2SG.FAM-ERG do-PERF AUX-**2SG.FAM.MASC/FEM**
    'You have done it.'

In most contexts, allocutive morphemes are (near) identical in exponence and allomorphy rules to person morphemes on the auxiliary cross referencing datives and ergatives. We follow the consensus in recent Basque formal literature in taking these morphemes to be clitics that obligatorily double a possibly silent argument (Laka, 1993; Rezac, 2008a; Arregi & Nevins, 2012; Rezac et al., 2014).[2] The main set of facts supporting this view comes from locality in head movement, as first discussed in Arregi & Nevins (2012). In (13), the first person morpheme on the auxiliary marks the dative indirect object inside an infinitival constituent. If the former is an agreement morpheme— the exponence of some agreement operation with a phi-probe inside the infinitival constituent on standard assumptions—then, for this morpheme to combine with the auxiliary, it will need to raise past the intervening modal verb, treated as a head in all of the literature that we are aware of (Etxepare, 2006, 2012; Etxepare & Uribe-Etxebarria, 2009, 2012; Balza, 2010). This movement then seems to require non-local head movement, otherwise unattested in Basque (Travis, 1984). In contrast, if the first person morpheme on the auxiliary is a clitic that doubles the direct object, then the movement required is banal. In the discussion below, we adopt the latter approach, taking all person morphemes on the auxiliary—including allocutive markers—to be clitics. Given the similar behavior of dative and allocutive clitics we take the latter to be clitics as well, following Rezac (2006), Arregi & Nevins (2012) and Haddican (2018).

(13)    [**Ni-ri**    eman]    nahi di-**t**.
        **1SG-DAT** eman.INFIN want AUX-1SG.DAT
        'He/she/it wants to give me it.'

Much of the recent literature on allocutivity has made reference to Oyharçabal's (1993) seminal

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[2]Details of the word-internal syntax of finite verb forms need not concern us. See Laka (1993); Albizu (2002); Arregi & Nevins (2012) and Haddican (2018) for discussions.

analysis of a Northern Basque variety, Souletin Basque, where allocutive marking is restricted to root declaratives. (14) and (15) shows that, in this variety, allocutive clitics are blocked in complement clauses and root interrogatives respectively. Most southern varieties that maintain allocutive marking share with Souletin Basque the property that allocutive marking is restricted to root contexts, but permit allocutivity in root interrogatives like (15).

(14)   [Manex joan-en \*du-**a**-la/de-la]                        uste  duk.
       Manex  go-FUT AUX-**2SG.FAM.MASC**-Q/AUX-COMP think AUX
       'You think Manex will go.'
   (Adapted from Oyharçabal 1993)

(15)   Lan  egi-ten      \*di-**n**-a/duia                 hire  lagunak?
       work do-IMPERF AUX-**2SG.FAM.MASC**-Q/AUX.Q your friend.ERG
       'Does your friend work?'
   (Adapted from Oyharçabal 1993)

A fact not extensively discussed in the non-Basque-specialist literature is that some southern Basque varieties, do in fact freely permit allocutive clitics in embedded contexts. This is sometimes described as being particularly frequent among younger speakers (Hualde et al., 2003; Azkue Ibarbia, 1998), and indeed this seems to be the case in many dialects. There is evidence however, that this possibility is not exclusively restricted to contemporary generations. In particular, Azkue (1923) describes embedded allocutivity in Bizkaian dialects at the beginning of the 20th century and suggests that it had begun at least a century prior. Azkue reports the following example with allocutive marking in embedded questions, accepted among contemporary speakers of Bizkaian varieties:

(16)   Txotxo, ezeidxok    inori    atia  zabaldu, zer  **dx**-akarr-an            ala zetara
       Boy,     AUX.IMPER nobody door open,    what **2SG.FAM**-bring-COMP or  what.for
       **dx**-atorr-an          ala nor  d-u-**a**-n                  dxakin barik.
       **2SG.FAM**-come-COMP or  who EXPL-ROOT-**2SG.FAM**-COMP know   without
       'Boy, don't open the door for anyone without knowing what they have, why they're coming or who it is.'

(adapted from Azkue 1923: 593)

More recently, based on results from a dialectological survey, Aurrekoetxea (1994) and Euskaltzaindia (2008) report the possibility of allocutive clitics in embedded declaratives in several Bizkaian dialects, as previously noted by Azkue, as well as several other southern dialect regions.[3] The most extensive set of data on embedded allocutivity in a single community is described in Azkue Ibarbia (1998), who gathered data from 360 adolescents recruited through local schools on allocutive use in the southern town of Zumaia. Included in this data set was a translation task, in which subjects were asked to provide translations into their everyday Basque of several Spanish sentences involving subordinate clauses. 72% showed at least some marking in embedded clauses. Importantly, Azkue Ibarbia's examples suggest the possibility of allocutive clitics in several different kinds of finite embedded clauses, including relative clauses, complement clauses under verbs of saying and 'if'-clauses.

Importantly, exponence of the allocutive morpheme is insensitive to embedding. Examples (17)-(19) show that the form of allocutive clitic, in both masculine and feminine variants are the same in both root clauses and declarative embeddings.[4]

(17)  a.  Eman-go zi-da-[**k**/-**n**].
          give-FUT AUX-1SG.DAT-[**2SG.FAM.MASC/FEM**]
          'He/she/it will give it to me.'
      b.  Uste  di-[a/-na]-t                     eman-go
          think AUX-[2SG.FAM.MASC/FEM]-1SG.ERG give-FUT-
          zi-da-[**k**/-**n**]-ela.
          AUX-1SG.DAT-[**2SG.FAM.MASC/FEM**]-C.DECL
          'I think he/she/it will give it to me.'

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[3]It is also reported by Iglesias Chaves (2015) in a speech corpus study of Arratia Basque, another Western, Bizkaian variety.

[4]A reviewer notes, moreover, that the second person morphemes here cannot plausibly be analyzed as datives. No Basque variety reported allows for cross-referencing of > 1 dative argument via auxiliary clitics. The presence of the first person dative clitic in (17) and (18), therefore precludes an interpretation of the second person form here as an ethical dative. Similarly, [u]-root forms as in (19) are never dative-bearing in Southern dialects. We are grateful to the reviewer for this insight.

(18)  a.  Liburua gusta-tzen zai-da-[**k**/**-n**]
          book    like-IMP   AUX-1SG.DAT-[**2SG.FAM.MASC/FEM**]
          'I like the book.'
      b.  Uste  di-[a/-na]-t                        liburua gusta-tzen
          think AUX-[2SG.FAM.MASC/FEM]-1SG.ERG book    like-IMP
          zai-da-[**k**/**-n**]-ela
          AUX-1SG.DAT-[**2SG.FAM.MASC/FEM**]-C.DECL
          'I like the book.'

(19)  a.  Oso garestia   hu-[**a**/**na**]-n
          very expensive AUX-[**2SG.FAM.MASC/FEM**]-PST
          'It is very expensive.'
      b.  Uste  di-[a/-na]-t                        oso  garestia
          think AUX-[2SG.FAM.MASC/FEM]-1SG.ERG very expensive
          hu-[**a**/**na**]-la
          AUX-[**2SG.FAM.MASC/FEM**]-C.DECL
          'I think it is very expensive.'

Consultations with native speakers of the innovative grammar suggest that the availability of allocutive clitics is insenstitive to embedding type. As shown below, allocutive clitics are possible under verbs of saying and thinking, but also in factive embeddings, relative clauses, embedded questions and temporal clauses. Note that the first two of these appear with a complementizer *-ela* that appears in embedded declaratives. The latter three appear with a complementizer *-en* that appears in most other embedding types.

(20)  ***Verbs of saying***
      Esa-n     d-i-**k**                    [etorri-ko
      say-PERF EXPL-ROOT-**2SG.FAM.MASC** come-FUT
      d-e-(%**k**)-ela].
      EXPL-ROOT-**2SG.FAM.MASC**-C.DECL
      'He/she/it has said that he/she/it will come.'

(21)  ***Factives***
      Jon-ek    ba-z-etorre-(%**k**)-ela                     ahaz-tu
      Jon-ERG EPEN-EXPL-come-**2SG.FAM.MASC**-C.DECL forget-PERF
      d-i-**k**.
      EXPL-ROOT-**2SG.FAM.MASC**
      'Jon has forgotten that he/she/it is coming.'

(22)    ***Relatives***
    (\*ba-)z-etorre-(%**k**)-en               ekaitza.
    ba-EXPL-come-**2SG.FAM.MASC**-C.Q storm.DEF
    'The storm that is coming.'

(23)    ***Embedded yes/no questions***
    Ez   z-aki-a-t                       [(ba)-z-etorre-(%**k**)-en
    NEG EXPL-know-**2SG.FAM.MASC**-1SG.ERG EPEN-EXPL-COME-**2SG.FAM.MASC**-C.Q
    ala ez].
    or  NEG
    'I don't know if he's coming or not.'

(24)    ***Temporal clauses***
    Jon z-etorre-(%**k**)-en-ean           ikusi-ko d-i-a-t.
    Jon EXPL-come-**2SG.FAM.MASC**-C.Q-in see-FUT EXPL-ROOT-2SG.FAM.MASC-1SG
    'When John comes, I will see him.'

Importantly, allocutive clitics in these innovative varieties are possible in contexts that fail standard root-clause tests. In particular, (22), showing allocutive marking in a relative clause, shows that "*ba*-support"—a verb-second-position repair operation that applies only in root contexts—is never possible in relative clauses, with or without the presence of an allocutive clitic (Ortiz de Urbina, 1989; Elordieta & Haddican, 2018).[5] In addition, unlike canonical embedded root constructions, allocutive clitics are not in any way restricted to "asserted" or Main Point of Utterance contexts (Hooper & Thompson, 1973; Simons, 2007). While the speakers we have consulted generally prefer the innovative pattern with allocutive marking in all finite clauses, they also often accept the conservative grammar pattern, with allocutive marking only in the root clause. What is not attested, as far as we are aware, are speakers who permit allocutive marking only in the embedded clause.

Unlike in Magahi and Tamil, Basque has no person-indexical shift of any kind, regardless of the presence of an allocutive morpheme, as in (25). Nor, as shown in (26), can familiarity marking (what we take to be the Basque equivalent of honorification) be shifted to the addressee of the

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[5]True embeddings like relative clauses in southern Basque also differ from root clauses in word order in negative contexts. We set aside these facts for reasons of space. See Ortiz de Urbina (1989) and Elordieta & Haddican (2018) for discussion.

embedded speech event.

(25)    Jon-ek  Imanol-i   [(zu)      etorri-ko  zar-∅-ela]              esa-n
        Jon-ERG Imanol-DAT 2SG.FORM come-FUT 2SG.FORM-ROOT-C.DECL say-PERF
        d-i-o.
        EXPL-ROOT-3SG.DAT
        'Jon told Imanol you will come'/*Jon told Imanol Imanol will come.'

(26)    Jon-ek  Imanol-i   [etorri-ko  d-u-(%**k**)-ela]              esa-n
        Jon-ERG Imanol-DAT come-FUT EXPL-ROOT-**2SG.FAM.MASC**-C.DECL say-PERF
        z-i-o-**k**.
        EXPL-ROOT-3SG.DAT-**2SG.FAM.MASC**
        'Jon told Imanol that he will come.'
      (Cannot mark familiar agreement with addresse of embedded speech.)

To summarize, innovative southern Basque dialects are an additional variety that appear to bear out a prediction of Alok and Baker's (2018) proposal that embedded allocutivity should be possible in varieties without person indexical shift whatsoever.

## 4.    Allocutives and direct addresses

One of the properties of Basque that has made it particularly attractive as a laboratory variety for work on the syntax of addressees is that the morphological behavior of allocutive clitics is very similar to that of thematic clitics, suggesting parallels between the syntax of allocutive morphemes and event-participant addressees (see (11) and (12)) (Oyharçabal, 1993; Miyagawa, 2013, 2017). A well described property of Basque thematic clitics is that they can always optionally co-occur with an overt DP (Ortiz de Urbina, 1989; Laka, 1993; Arregi & Nevins, 2012). As illustrated in (27) and (28), Basque allows for ergative, absolutive and dative arguments to be silent, with the qualification that these must be marked by clitics on the verb, that is, that clitic doubling is obligatory.[6]

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[6]Third person absolutive and ergative clitics are often taken to be silent. See Laka (1993); Albizu (2002); Arregi & Nevins (2012) and Haddican (2018) for details.

(27)    (Zu-k)              (ni) ikus-i     na-u-zu.
        2SG.FORM-ERG 1SG see-PERF 1SG-ROOT-2SG.FORM
        'You have seen me.'

(28)    (Zu-k)              (ni-ri)    (ardoa) ema-n      d-i-da-zu.
        2SG.FORM-ERG 1SG-DAT wine    give-PERF EXPL-ROOT-1SG-2SG.FORM
        'You have given the wine to me.'

A question that arises in view of these facts is whether allocutive clitics—which, again, are identical in exponence, allomorphy rules and obligatoriness to those for second person familiar thematic clitics—may also co-occur with an overt co-referential DP, or if allocutive clitics are exceptional in disallowing an overt co-referential DP. Oyharçabal (1993) takes the latter view, suggesting that "the allocutive entity can never be overt". Oyharçabal (1993), cites the example in (29) in support of the claim that overt free pronouns referring to a non-thematic addressee are illicit regardless of case marking.

(29)    ***Hi**-∅/-k/-ri               mintza n-iaiteke-k
        2SG.FAM-ABS/-ERG/-DAT speak   1SG-CAN-2SG.FAM.MASSC
        'I can speak.'[7]
        (Adapted from Oyharçabal (1993).)

Oyharçabal's description indeed holds for neutral prosodic contexts, however (29) is perfectly acceptable with an intonational break following the initial pronoun, in which case the latter is interpreted as a vocative call (Zwicky, 1974; Slocum, 2016). Indeed, vocative expressions more broadly freely co-occur with allocutives, as in (30).

(30)    [Bihotza/laztana/tontoa/motel]# berandu d-u-k.
        [heart/caress/stupid/boy]        late   EXPL-ROOT-2SG.FAM.MASC
        'Sweetheart/honey/dumb-ass/dude, it's late.'

A possibility raised by (30) is that vocative expressions in contexts like (30) are correlates of the thematic free nominals "doubled" by the clitics in (27) and (28). Three sets of distributional facts,

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[7]The example is in the Zuberoan dialect.

in fact, support an abstract relationship between allocutive morphemes and vocative expressions. First, both forms express sets of not-at-issue meaning in that they present propositional content which is separate from the central at-issue content expressed by the sentence (Potts, 2005; Portner, 2007; Eckardt, 2014; Gutzmann, 2019; McCready, 2019), and in particular, serve to mark the relationship between the speaker and addressee (Slocum, 2016; Akkuş & Hill, 2021).

Second, in some conservative dialects, Basque has gender-marked free vocative pronouns, for use in all and only the sociolinguistic/discourse contexts in which allocutive clitics are specified: *to/txo*, (2SG.MASC.VOC) and *no/ño*, (2SG.FEM.VOC). These forms and the 2SG.FAM clitics described above, are the only two contexts in which Basque morphology marks grammatical gender (Haddican, 2015). Indeed, in common parlance, the use of allocutivity is referred to by these vocative expressions. That is, using allocutive clitics with a male interlocutor is referred to as *to-ka* ('*to*-doing') and with a female interlocutor as *no-ka* ('*no*-doing').

Third and finally, like allocutive morphemes, vocative expressions are for many varieties typically characterized as restricted to root contexts (Hill, 2007, 2013; Slocum, 2016). A question raised immediately by this proposal is whether acceptance of embedded allocutivity correlates across speakers with acceptance of embedded vocatives. Our consultations with ten native speakers of allocutive dialects, suggests the prediction is indeed borne out. That is, we find that speakers accept embedded allocutivity if and only if they also accept embedded vocatives. In particular, the contexts that we take as reflecting embedded vocatives are of the kind in (31). The comparison between the (a) and (b) examples here indicate that the availability of embedded vocatives is insensitive to the presence vs. absence of an allocutive clitic in the lower clause.

(31)   a.   Ez  daki-gu  [ea bihar,   **bihotza**, euria egin-go duen].
            NEG know-1PL [C tomorrow heart    rain  do-FUT AUX]
            'We don't know if tomorrow, sweetheart, it will rain.'

       b.   Ez   zakia-gu  [ea bihar,   **bihotza**, euria egin-go
            NEG know-1PL [C tomorrow heart    rain  do-FUT
            d-i-**k**-en].
            EXPL-ROOT-2SG.FAM.MASC-C]
            'We don't know if tomorrow, sweetheart, it will rain.'

In (31), the vocative expression appears to the right of the complementizer *ea* and a temporal adverbial modifying the lower predicate, suggesting that it is indeed in the lower clause. In addition, if, as suggested in the previous section, innovative dialects have an Addresee-related position in all finite clauses in Basque, and if, as we suggest, this position is also responsible for the introduction of vocative DPs, then one expects the possibility of multiple vocative expressions in a single structure (Slocum, 2016). This is indeed the case, as shown in (32).

(32)    **Maitea**, galdetu didate ea bihar,     **bihotza**, plaza-n  egon-go zar-en.
        **love**    ask     AUX  C tomorrow, **heart**,   plaza-in be-FUT  AUX-C
        "Love, they asked me, sweetheart, whether you'll be in the plaza tomorrow."

Slocum (2016) cautions that such a test should take into account whether the vocatives are interpreted as attention-seeking calls—which can only occur utterance-initially—or rather addresses. Combinations of two non-adjacent addresses in the same sentence are downgraded in English according to Slocum, as shown in (33).[8] Its Basque counterpart in (34), however, is indeed possible in innovative dialects, as expected if vocative positions are available in both finite clauses.

(33)    *How could you think, Mary, that I would betray you, my dear?
        (Slocum 2016)

(34)    Nola pentsa dezakezu, [**bihotza/Miren**], saldu   egin zaitzakedala, **maitea**?
        how  think  AUX       **heart/Mary**     betray do   AUX.C            **love**
        'How could you think, sweetheart/Mary, that I would betray you, love?'

Vocative DPs occupy surface positions in Basque typically described for topics, i.e. within left-peripheral or right-peripheral topic fields. This distribution applies in both root and embedded domains, as shown in (35).[9]

(35)    (Ez  dakit)      **(bihotza)** Jon bihar      **(bihotza)** plaza-n  egon-go da/den
        NEG know.1sg **heart**      Jon tomorrow **heart**      plaza-in be-FUT  AUX/AUX.C

---

[8]These are Slocum's data. It's not clear to us that all speakers find (33) unacceptable.

[9]Intonationally, vocative DPs require a pitch downstep and a sharp prosodic break separating it from adjacent material. These prosodic features are similar to those for pre- and post-verbal topics, but more pronounced. We do not undertake an account of these syntax-prosody mapping issues here.
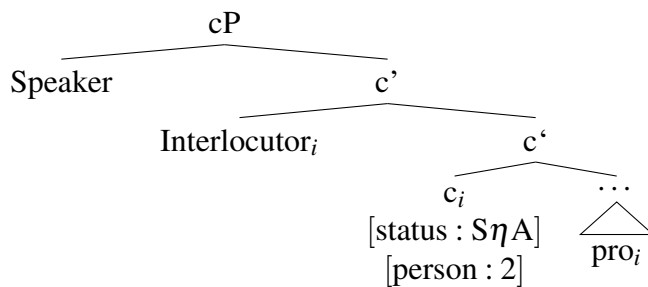
    **(bihotza)**.
    **heart**
    'I don't know whether, tomorrow sweetheart Jon will be in the plaza.'

Our analysis builds on a proposal by Portner et al. (2019) on the locus of honorification and politeness features in syntax. Central to this analysis is an adaptation of proposals by Kratzer (2009) and Baker (2008), whereby first and second pronouns acquire their person interpretations by dint of binding by Speaker and Addressee operators high in the clause. Specifically, Portner et al. propose that the Speaker and Interlocutor operators are merged in a projection headed by a morpheme, c, that encodes information about the relationship between the speaker and Interlocutor.[10] Most importantly, part of the denotation of this morpheme is a function specifying the politeness relations between Speaker and Interlocutor ultimately responsible for spell out of politeness-encoding forms including T/V pronouns and honorific markers. Pronouns bound by the operator—mediated by c—will acquire both person and status features via operator-variable agreement, i.e. an agreement operation parasitic on the binding relation. We illustrate this in (36), where a second person pronoun acquires a politeness value via binding by Interlocutor. (Here, $\eta \in \{\leq, <, =, >, \geq\}$.)

(36)

```
                        cP
              _____
          Speaker                    c'
                         _____
                    Interlocutor_i             c'
                                        _____
                                      c_i           ...
                               [status : SηA]     ╱◁╲
                               [person : 2]      pro_i
```

Portner et al. propose that vocative DPs are the lexical embodiment of Interlocutor, and that honorific particles, which the authors take to be akin to Basque allocutive clitics, spell out c. From the perspective of their proposal, which takes c to be merged only in root contexts, this immediately expresses the fact that vocative DPs and allocutive morphemes, in many languages, are restricted to root contexts. We follow Portner et al. (2019) in taking vocative expressions to spell out the op-

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[10]It also encodes information about the speech act context, i.e. formality of setting, which we set aside here.

erator responsible for binding second person forms, but will pursue a different approach to Basque allocutive morphemes, in light of their clitic-like properties. In particular, following Uriagereka (1995) and Nevins (2011) we assume that Basque clitics and their co-referential DPs are merged in a "big DP" KP structure, as in (37). Here, the clitic is of category D merged in the specifier of a projection taking the DP as its complement. (See also Arregi & Nevins 2012 and Haddican 2018 for similar implementations.) In the case of vocatives/allocutives, the clitic in this structure will be the allocutive clitic and the DP will be the optional direct address expression.[11]

(37)    [$_{KP}$ D$_{Clitic}$ [$_{K'}$ K DP ] ]

Unaddressed so far is the nature of the formal difference between conservative varieties in which allocutive morphemes are restricted to root contexts and innovative grammars in which they are permitted in finite embeddings. Portner et al.'s model, which takes c to be strictly a root-clause element, cannot, without some parameterization, express embedded allocutivity and embedded vocatives in Basque, Magahi and Tamil. One could propose amending Portner et al.'s framework to allow embedding of c in specified varieties, but at the heart of their model is the proposal that c is not of a semantic type that can be embedded. Embedding c would therefore require a different semantics from that proposed by Portner et al. for Korean.

In any event, an additional set of facts independent of the embeddability of allocutives and vocatives suggests the need for a partially distinct analysis of Basque. In particular, Basque and Korean differ in the types of addressees that co-occur with allocutive marking. Korean allocutive morphemes, as described by Portner et al. (2019), are only possible with "interlocutor addressees", i.e. specific, ratified interlocutors and are not possible in self-talk. Neither of these restrictions apply in Basque in either conservative or innovative dialects. (38), for example, is text from a road sign in the Southern Basque Country. The presence of allocutive marking in this contexts suggests that it was intended for a non-interlocutor-addressee in the sense of Portner et al. (2019). Native speakers we have consulted generally find this usage natural.
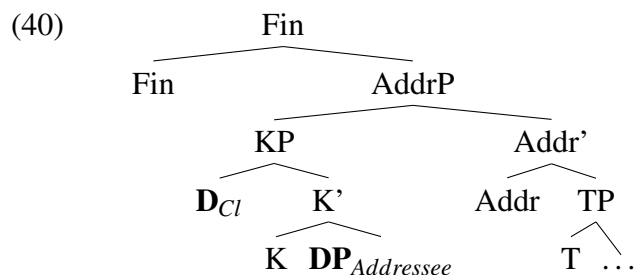
---

[11]We set aside the internal structure of vocative DPs. See, for discussion Espinal (2010) and Hill (2013).

(38)  Kontuz!! Hemen euskaldunak    gait-u-**k**!
      Caution   here    Basque.speakers 1PL.ABS-ROOT-**2SG.FAM.MASC**
      'Caution!! Here, we're Basque speakers.'
      (A road sign in a predominantly Basque-speaking area of the Southern Basque Country.)

Similarly, native speakers find allocutivity in self-talk examples like (39), completely natural (cf. Holmberg (2010)).

(39)  Imanol, proposamen hau ez    d-u-**k**                    batere ona.
      Imanol proposal     this NEG EXPL-ROOT-**2SG.FAM.MASC** at.all   good
      'Imanol, this proposal isn't at all good.' (Said by Imanol to himself)

We take these facts, together with the observed variation across languages in root-restrictions to indicate that allocutive morphemes may be introduced in more than one structural position. In particular, we propose that Basque allocutive clitics and vocative DPs are introduced in a projection that we will label AddrP immediately dominating TP, as in (40). We place this projection immediately below clause-typing complementizers in Fin in view of the fact that the allocutive clitic always surfaces inside the affixal complementizer which marks clause type, as shown in (20)-(24). Portner et al. (2019) locate their allocutive head, c, above the clause-typing morpheme with which it spells out a portmanteau morpheme. Portner et al., however, note (fn. 10) that their analysis does not preclude the possibility of an alternative merged order with c sitting below the clause-typing head and immediately dominating T, yielding a sequence that would match closely the observed morpheme order facts in Basque. We set aside this possibility here.

(40)

```
                     Fin
              _____/ _____
            Fin            AddrP
                    _____/ _____
                  KP              Addr'
              ___/ \___        ___/ \___
            D_Cl      K'     Addr       TP
                    _/ \_               _/ \_
                   K  DP_Addressee     T   ...
```

Following Haegeman & Hill (2013) and Miyagawa (2013, 2017), we take Addr to be a species of applicative morpheme introducing a speech act role. Support for this approach comes from

an observation dating back to the earliest formal work on Basque allocutivity, namely, that in a defined set of contexts, allocutive clitics behave like thematic datives in applicative contexts in determining an *-i-* root morpheme on the auxiliary (Rebuschi, 1981, 1984; Albizu, 2002; Arregi & Nevins, 2012; Haddican, 2018):

(41)  a.  Egin-go d-**i**-**a**-t.
          do-IRR  EXPL-**ROOT**-**2SG.FAM.MASC**-1SG.ERG
          'I'm going to do it.'                    [*-i-* root triggered by allocutive clitic]

      b.  Eman-go d-**i**-**o**-t.
          give-IRR  EXPL-**ROOT**-**2SG.DAT**-1SG.ERG
          'I'm going to give it to him/her/it.'        [*-i-* root triggered by dative clitic]

We propose that the locus of cross-dialectal variation between embedded allocutive dialects and traditional root-only allocutive dialects is whether Addr is licensed *only* in the extended projection of an abstract morpheme encoding illocutionary force, which we label Force. In other words, we propose that in conservative dialects, Addr forms a natural class with other left peripheral heads including evidential morphemes (*omen, ei, bide*) (Etxepare, 2010) in having an [$_u$Force] feature probable in the local domain of Force, which we assume is the local phase. Innovative dialects will lack this restriction with the consequence that Addr will be licensed in embedded contexts.[12]

(42)  a.  [ Force ... [ Fin [ **Addr**$_{[uForce]}$ [ T ... [ Fin [ T ...          [Conserv. dialects]

      b.  [ Force ... [ Fin [ **Addr** [ T ... [ Fin [ **Addr** [ T ...          [Innov. dialects]

An alternative, from the perspective of Alok and Baker's (2018) proposal, is that Addr is present in all finite contexts in both innovative and conservative dialects (indeed, perhaps universally so), but that properties of the finite context—perhaps the presence of [$_u$Force]—require that AddrP material be realized silently in conservative dialects. We are aware of no empirical considerations helpful in deciding between these two possibilities. We favor the analysis in (42), as one more consistent with the applicative-like properties of Addr, as described above.

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[12]See Etxepare (2010) and Monforte (2020) on cross-dialectal differences in these restrictions.

We follow the consensus in the Basque formal literature in taking the exponence of finite verbs to be fed by head movement operations that we will not consider in detail here (Laka, 1993; Albizu, 2002; Arregi & Nevins, 2012; Haddican, 2018). As first suggested by Laka (1993), cyclic head adjunction (with raised heads uniformly linearized to the left of hosts), yields a "mirror" pattern with the linear order of verb-internal morphemes approximating the inverse of their merged order Baker (1985). On these assumptions, the structure in (42) immediately expresses the fact that allocutive morphemes are linearized to the left of clause typing complementizers as in (20)-(24). These assumptions also account for the fact that, in the general case, allocutive morphemes appear to the right of all other material inside the finite verb as in (11b), repeated here.[13]

(43)  Jon etorr-i     d-u-**k/-n**
      Jon come-PERF EXPL-ROOT-**2SG.FAM.MASC/FEM**
      'John has come.'

We close the discussion by observing that the unified approach to allocutives and vocative DPs pursued here may offer some insight into asymmetries between thematic arguments and vocatives/allocutives in the way these participate in condition B effects. Note, first, that vocatives do not give rise to condition B violations in English and Basque:

(44)  a.  Love$_i$, you$_i$ left the light on.

      b.  You$_i$ over there, you$_i$ need to wear a mask.

(45)  Bihotza$_i$, zuk$_i$   argia piztuta   utzi   duzu.
      heart       you-ERG light turned.on leave AUX.
      'Sweetheart, you've left the light on.'

---

[13]An exception to this are 1sg ergative clitics which are linearized to the right of allocutive clitics as in (11a). (See Haddican 2018 for discussion). Some dialects including the Bizkaian dialects exemplified in (16) also have a process of "allocutive displacement" (cf. Rezac 2008b) in which allocutive morphemes can appear in initial position, and others including Zumaia, where allocutive marking is permitted in both its initial position and its normal rightward position, as in (i). We set these facts aside here.

(i)   Berandu etorri-ko   **h**-u-**a**-la                          esa-n       d-i-k.
      late      come-FUT **2SG.FAM**-ROOT-**2SG.FAM.MASC**-C.DECL say-IMPERF EXPL-ROOT-2SG.FAM.MASC
      'He has said he will come late.'

From the perspective of Portner et al.'s proposal, one possible interpretation of these facts is that the subject occupies a position outside the binding domain of the vocative/operator. Alternatively, one might suppose that the binding relation between the Interlocutor operator and its second person bindee is of a special sort exempt from condition B. We will not attempt to decide between these approaches here. What is of greater relevance to our discussion is that similar facts are in evidence in the interaction among clitics. In particular, Oyharçabal (1993) notes that allocutive clitics are blocked in contexts with a thematic addressee, even when the two addressee morphemes differ in number marking, as in (46). The presence of a 2SG clitic, instead, requires an auxiliary form without allocutive marking.

(46)  *Lan  egin d-i-**na**-**zue**.
      work do   EXPL-ROOT-**2SG.FAM.FEM**-**2PL**
      'You all have worked.'
      (Adapted from Oyharçabal 1993)

Oyharçabal (1993) suggests that the unavailability of (46) is related to a more general ban on 1/1 and 2/2 combinations in auxiliary clitic clusters, as in (47). In particular, Oyharçabal explains both (46) and (47) as condition B violations. (See also Artiagoitia 2003; Arregi & Nevins 2012; Cysouw & Landaluce 2012 and Rezac 2016.)

(47)  *Ispilua-an ikusi **gait**-u-**t**.
      mirror-in  see   **1PL.ABS**-ROOT-**1SG.ERG**
      'I've seen us in the mirror.'
      (Adapted from oiartzabal1993)

If this is the correct understanding of the facts in (46) and (47), a question that arises is why allocutive clitics should show sensitivity to condition B, but not vocative DPs as shown in (45). Let us first note two sets of facts that suggest that these restrictions reflect, in part, a restriction on surface strings of clitics, rather than binding effects. First, as noted by Arregi & Nevins (2012) (attributing the observation to Xabier Artiagoitia, p.c.), in non-finite contexts, 1/1 combinations

are somewhat improved relative to those in finite contexts with clitics:

(48)  ??Ondo legoke    koadro bat-ean [**nik**     **gu**      margotzea].
       well   would.be portrait one-in  **1SG.ERG 1PL.ABS** paint
       'It would be good for me to paint us in a portrait.'
       (X. Artiagoitia, p.c.)

Related facts concern the interaction of allocutive clitics with a clausemate progressive modal *ari*, which is opaque to raising of absolute object clitics to the auxiliary, but permits raising of dative object clitics (Laka, 2006). The allocutive clitic is licit in (49a) when no clitic associated with the thematic addressee raises to the auxiliary. It is blocked, however, in (49b), where the second person clitic appears on the auxiliary.[14] Note also, that such contexts also allow for binding of reciprocals, which otherwise require a clausemate antecedent (Artiagoitia, 2003). If, then, the contrast in (49a,b) is to be attributed to condition B, it requires, implausibly, that the auxiliary and base position of the objects are insufficiently local to induce a condition B violation (49a), but sufficiently local to allow for clitic climbing and reciprocal binding (49b,c). One might take these 1/1, 2/2-blocking effects to be a special, more local case of condition B effects—local, say, to the auxiliary structure—but, such an approach is not easily distinguishable from one that takes these blocking effects to reflect morphological restrictions on clitic combinations. Such facts, then, support Arregi and Nevins' suspicion that the blocking effect described seminally by Oyharçabal is at least in part a lexical restriction on clitic combinations, with the implication that the deviance of (47) may not be reliably attributable to a condition B effect.[15]

(49)  a.  **Hi** altxatzen ari    nind-u-**a**-n.
          **you** lifting    PROG 1SG-ROOT-**2SG.FAM.MASC**-PST
          'I was lifting you.'

      b.  *Jon **zu-ei**       hitz egi-ten    ari    zai-**zue**-**k**.
          Jon **you-DAT.PL** word do-IMPERF PROG ROOT-**2.PL.DAT-2SG.FAM.MASC**
          'Jon is talking to you all.'

---

[14]These restrictions hold in both the standard grammar and in those that permit embedded allocutivity.

[15]Indeed, Oyharçabal himself (1993, note 23) observes some obstacles to a condition B approach to 1/1 and 2/2 gaps. We thank a reviewer for a detailed discussion of these facts.

    c.   (Gu$_i$) **elkar**$_i$ hitz egi-ten   ari   **g**$_i$-a-ra.
          we   **RECIP** word doIMPERF PROG **1PL.ABS**-ROOT-ABS.PL
          'We are talking to each other.'

A more useful set of facts for our purposes concerns contexts with 1PL inclusive clitics. As shown in (50a) and (51a), such morphemes combine with allocutive clitics, suggesting that the relevant restriction in (46), whatever its nature, cannot be characterized as one proscribing allocutive clitics in the presence of other morphemes cross-referencing the addressee. Importantly, in contexts with an identical surface string for the auxiliary, where the 2SG clitic cross-references the subject, the result is degraded as in (50b), and (51b).

(50)    a.   (Hi eta biok) ispilu-an ikusi **gait**-u-**k**.
          you and both mirror-in seen 1PL.ABS-ROOT-2SG.FAM.MASC
          'We have seen each other in the mirror.'             [Allocutive 2SG cl.]

        b. ??(Hi eta biok) ispilu-an ikusi **gait**-u-**k**.
            you and both mirror-in seen 1PL.ABS-ROOT-2SG.FAM.MASC
            'You have seen us (inclusive) in the mirror.'         [Thematic 2SG cl.]

(51)    a.   (Hi eta biok) ezpat-ekin   zauritu   **gait**-u-**k**.
          you and both swords-with wounded 1PL.ABS-ROOT-2SG.FAM.MASC
          'We have wounded each other with swords.'       [Allocutive 2SG cl.]

        b. ??(Hi eta biok) ezpat-ekin   zauritu   **gait**-u-**k**.
            you and both swords-with wounded 1PL.ABS-ROOT-2SG.FAM.MASC
            'You have wounded us (inclusive) with swords.'     [Thematic 2SG cl.]

We propose that the contrast in (50) and (51) is a truer diagnostics of condition B effects within clitic clusters since it removes the possible confound of restrictions on surface strings in cases like (46) and (47). In other words, the deviance of (50b) and (51b) cannot reflect a restriction on surface strings since the auxiliary is identical in phonology and stringwise morpheme sequence to that in (50b) and (51b). We suggest, further, that these facts are parallel to the condition B facts for vocatives in (45). That is, allocutive clitics behave like vocative DPs in failing to trigger condition B violations. Moreover, a reviewer notes that facts from anaphor binding are parallel. As first observed by Oyharçabal (1993), allocutive clitics do not bind anaphora (52). Vocative expressions

share this property as shown in (53).

(52)   *[**Hire buruarekin**]$_i$ mintza-tzen na-u-**k**$_i$.
       your   head          talk-IMPEF 1SG.ERG-ROOT-**2SG.FAM.MASC**
       'I'm an talking with yourself.'

       (Adapted from Oyharçabal 1993)

(53)   ***Bihotza**$_i$, [**zure buruarekin**]$_i$ mintza-tzen na-iz.
       Heart       your  head           talk-IMPEF 1SG.ERG-ROOT
       '*Honey, I'm an talking with yourself.'

To summarize, several facts from innovative Southern Basque dialects support a representational link between direct address expressions and allocutive clitics. We have proposed that the relationship between allocutive clitics and vocative DPs can modeled without any assumptions beyond those independently motivated by facts from thematic clitics and the DPs they double.

## 5. Conclusion

In this article, we have focused on innovative Southern Basque dialects whose patterns of allocutive marking have two main consequences for recent literature on the syntax of speech act roles. First, the data bear out a prediction of Alok and Baker's (2018) proposal that embedded allocutive marking should be possible in the absence of indexical shift. Second, the data lend novel support to a unified syntax of allocutive marking and direct address expressions (Portner et al., 2019). In particular, our data indicate that acceptance of embedded direct address expressions correlates across speakers with acceptance of embedded allocutivity.

The recent expansion of work on allocutivity has revealed important aspects of variation across allocutive languages yet to be considered in the formal literature. In the foregoing discussion, we have proposed an account of some differences between Korean and Basque, and between innovative and conservative Basque dialects. Many other important aspects of variation, however, emerge from comparisons of other pairs of allocutive varieties. Of particular interest is the nature of variation across allocutive languages in the optionality of allocutive marking, i.e. whether alloc-

utive morphemes are obligatory in the pragmatic contexts in which they are specified (as in Korean and Basque) or instead optional (as in Magahi and Galician). An issue possibly related is how to understand variation across languages in the way in which allocutive morphemes associate with other left-peripheral heads. In Korean, for example, allocutive morphemes are portmanteau forms spelling out both speech level and clause type features (Portner et al., 2019). In Levantine Arabic, allocutive clitics appear to spell out evaluative features Haddad (2013, 2014) and in Galician they associate with focus (Álvarez Blanco, 1980; Carbón Riobóo, 1995). An important task for future formal work will be to model how languages of this class relate to better described allocutive varieties including Basque and Korean.

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